30| only by women but among the Fang by members of either sex. It is called /183/ egbwĕ̄i', ngō'na IV Fang, or azǭm-e-sī, Ntum (see Plate 12). Halved lengthwise and dried, the roots are bound by a double string to form a neckband (Fig. 131, a) or are twined together to form a tassel-shaped pendant (Figure 131, b), the whole being dyed usually with red wood. A neck ruff made of bast and worn by members of either sex is not very common. Because of its appearance, the ruff is called etū'ga-ntŭma, "sheep's mane" (Fig. 131, c). Similarly, a bast neck ornament for little girls (ngǭne) is rarely worn. /Figs. 130 and 131 appear here in the original text./

30| Iron neck rings are very rare nowadays; correspondingly, neck
● 326 rings made of brass (mvǫ̆t I) are all the more frequent. These are cast in heavy and light varieties. The former, that is, the heavy brass rings, have two different forms. The first has edges that project like a cornice and no ornamentation (Fig. 132). The other one is triangular in cross-section and in the middle of the two front surfaces, as well as frequently along the upper edge, is provided with engraved patterns (mvǫ̆te zăn; see Fig. 14). The manufacture of these rings will be described in connection
301 with brass founding. It is not easy to wear such a ring, which weighs up to three pounds, nor is it easy to put it on, for it is softened anew in the fire and bent apart so that its lucky owner can force his neck into it, and then it is tapped together again on the anvil. It is even harder to take the ring off. To do this, the person concerned lies down on his back; one end of the ring is secured to a tree stump while the other end is connected to a lever by means of a liana, and the ring is forced off with the lever. Prior to this, one must not forget to rub the neck thoroughly with oil or with sap from the leaves of the Clerodendron /184/ /Fig. 132 appears here in the original text/ bŭttneri Gürke (mavŭlu-
[177] ndžīk III). By way of a popular, quick, and cheap substitute, servants of Europeans use tin cans which they transform into a neck ring by taking off the lid and the bottom. Similarly, European collars are to them an extremely welcome cultural acquisition which they make their own, frequently before they acquire trousers and shirts.

325

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 435 434 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot reproduce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23 marks + 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

325

Fig. 184. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326
554 The Pangwe do not accord the smith an exceptional social position. He is neither despised, as he is by many tribes, nor does he enjoy any kind of privileges or respect beyond the regard for his abilities. His skill (akɔ̌ŋ) is recognized and placed above that of other artisans, but nothing more than that. The smith, like the wood carvers, works only now and then at his trade, and only when there is a need for him to do so; he never works to build up a stock. In other words, he does not carry on a regular trade; instead, he works by commission and is paid for the work performed, not for the finished product (everybody must bring the smith the iron needed for the desired objects). At the time I was in the country, the smith received, for example, for the manufacture of spear money, ten per cent of its value.

325

Fig. 185. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326 348 The smith (nlūi III from a lūi' "to forge") most often has his workshop in the meeting house, the scene of most of the enterprises of the men. In this case a T-shaped pit is dug into the ground in the meeting house (see Fig. 27b, b) at the place where there would ordinarily be a sleeping bench. The bellows hangs above the pit and sometimes also its blast pipe; only occasionally is it hung in special huts (abā-lūi'). The latter are either simple lean-tos open all around or provided with sidewalls made of logs, like the temporary meeting houses. A smith's hut of the first form is depicted in Plate 18; the groundplan of a hut of the second /236/ kind -- from the Ntum village Okō (south of the Campo) -- is shown in Figure 186. The latter contains a tree trunk (m) and a wooden drum (k) placed along the walls and intended to serve as seats for the spectators; also it contains a stone anvil (b), and in a T-shaped pit (ejě, lūi') the smithy fire with the bellows (e-g). The smith (a) is always seated to the right of the fire and just in front of the bellows worker (d), so that he can conveniently reach the red-hot iron with his left hand, take it out of the pit, and work it on the anvil (b) before him.

463 The role of the towns in the external trade of the region is evident, but their role in regional economy is no less essential. In fact, formerly the population had hardly any specialization, because of limited needs: each group was self-sufficient. No division of labor was prescribed aside from the allotment of tasks to men and women. Only smiths possessed a special technique which allowed them to ply a
326 trade. Yet they were not a caste; a smith could ally himself by marriage with any family whatsoever, and a farmer's son might become a smith.

Everyone could extract iron ore, but only a skilled man who had acquired knowledge and magical power could work metal. Professional differentiation is /sic/ obviously still rudimentary. Perhaps it corresponds to a mediocre technological level: the stock of tools is limited—a stone used as an anvil, an iron bar as a hammer, and a bellows as a forge. The smith does not seem to have been the mysterious and awesome figure found in other societies. At most we may believe that there were sexual prohibitions connected with certain phases of his work, which allows us to assume a magical or religious aspect (1).

1. Miss /Mary/ Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, London, 1897; we should note however "an important pottery art, ironwork that deserves particular mention owing to its excellence, a technique for treating latex, an art of plaiting clothes" (in Balandier, [113] "Village fang /Fang Village/, " Études centrafricaines, 1951).

463 The small number of objects in use did not require a real division of labor. A piece of grooved ivory was used for beating bark to soften it for the making of clothes. This technique has evidently disappeared. There /were/ a few potteries; the wooden bowls are now replaced by imported ware. One still fairly often finds calling drums, wooden ladles or spoons carved by artisans, and mortars. Spearheads are currently sold in the markets. Crossbows are less and less used, and hunters make their own nets.

Needs which are now more varied have given rise to /36/ many professional specializations. A few are represented in rural districts,

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines. undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582 583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) [431] (1), imported merchandise (bîôm), especially loincloths, guns and

[231] 1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[431] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

● [532] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[583] 584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses; charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen. Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tos*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Elvi*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui dwarfs), dug the *minlok elvi* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *ski* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi beki, ntet owom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*owom*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*akwm*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbang* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484